

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 DHA-02 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /070 W
----- 025642

R 141449Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8990
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 7257

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, IS, UN, US

SUBJECT: ISRAEL AND ANTI-ZIONISM

BEGIN SUMMARY: A CURRENT FOCUS OF CONCERN FOR MANY ISRAELIS IS WHAT IS PERCEIVED AS A TREND TOWARD ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. THEY POINT TO THREE DEVELOPMENTS--THE PASSAGE OF THE UNGA RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ZIONISM, THE STATEMENTS MADE BY SADAT DURING HIS U.S. VISIT, AND THE WESTERN WORLD'S LIMITED REACTION TO THE CONTINUING CRISIS IN LEBANON--AS SUPPORT FOR THEIR ASSUMPTION THAT THE NON-JEWISH WORLD CANNOT BE RELIED UPON TO INSURE THE SURVIVAL OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL OR THE JEWISH PEOPLE. DESPITE APPRECIATION FOR THE STRONG U.S. STAND AGAINST THE ZIONIST RESOLUTION AND THE SOLIDARITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES WITH ISRAEL ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE, IT IS UNDENIABLE THAT THESE CONCERNS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO A MOOD OF INCREASING PESSIMISM AND ISOLATION. THE DOMESTIC PRESSURES TO WHICH THEY GIVE RISE ARE, NEVERTHELESS, UNLIKELY AT THIS TIME TO COMPEL THE
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GOVERNMENT TO REVISE ITS POLICY OF SEEKING ACCOMMODATIONS

WITH NEIGHBORING ARAB STATES. END SUMMARY

1. DURING THE PAST WEEK, ISRAELIS HAVE FOCUSED THEIR ATTENTION, BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY, ON WHAT THEY PERCEIVE AS AN ANTI-ZIONIST (AND, MORE OMINOUSLY, AN ANTI-SEMITIC) TREND IN CURRENT INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. THE MOST OBVIOUS CAUSE FOR THIS IS, OF COURSE, THE RESOLUTION BY WHICH THE UNGA BRANDED ZIONISM AS A FORM OF RACISM. PERHAPS OF GREATER CONCERN TO THE PUBLIC, THOUGH, ARE THOSE STATEMENTS MADE BY SADAT DURING HIS VISIT TO THE U.S. WHICH SEEM TO ISRAELIS TO GO A LONG WAY TOWARD NEGATING HIS PUBLICLY STATED ACCEPTANCE OF THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL.

2. WHAT IS DISTURBING TO ISRAELIS ABOUT THE UNGA CONDEMNATION OF ZIONISM--APART FROM THE INTRINSIC INSULT OF CALLING IT A FORM OF RACISM--IS THAT TO THEM IT MEANS THE REJECTION OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT BY STATES, MOST OF WHICH ARE THEMSELVES THE PRODUCT OF MODERN "LIBERATION MOVEMENTS." HOW, ISRAELIS ASK, CAN THE UN MEMBER NATIONS ACCEPT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF OTHER GROUPS, INCLUDING THE PLO, AND REJECT THAT OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE? ISRAELIS ALSO NOTE WITH BITTER IRONY THAT THE UN'S 1947 RESOLUTION HAD SANCTIONED THE FORMATION OF A JEWISH STATE AND NOW THAT SAME BODY WANTS TO DE-LEGITIMIZE IT OUT OF EXISTENCE.

3. SADAT'S COMMENTS IN THE U.S. ABOUT THE ROLE PLAYED BY JEWS IN EGYPT'S PRE-1956 ECONOMY HAVE PROVOKED CONCERN HERE, AND HAVE BEEN FREQUENTLY COMPARED TO SUCH ANTI-SEMITIC PROPAGANDA AS THE "PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION." COMMENTATORS ALSO HAVE FOCUSED ON SADAT'S IMPRISONMENT DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR BY THE BRITISH BECAUSE OF WHAT ISRAELIS DESCRIBE AS HIS PRO-NAZI ACTIVITIES. THIS LINKING OF CURRENT ARAB HOSTILITY TO ISRAEL WITH THE NAZI PAST IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF ISRAEL'S REACTIONS TO THE UN VOTES. IT REFLECTS A WIDESPREAD VIEW THAT ANTI-ZIONISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM ARE ONE AND THE SAME, A CONSTANT AGAINST WHICH JEWS HAVE ALWAYS HAD TO STRUGGLE. MANY ISRAELIS BELIEVE THAT ARABS, OR AT LEAST THE HEADS OF ARAB STATES AND THE PLO, ARE

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ONLY THE LATEST IN AN ENDLESS SUCCESSION OF THOSE WHO HAVE TRIED TO DESTROY THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

4. CURRENT ISRAELI PSYCHOLOGY IS ALSO REFLECTED IN THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 7257

POPULAR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN LEBANON. PRIME MINISTER RABIN WAS ONLY ONE OF MANY IN LAMENTING THE "FACT" THAT THE "CHRISTIAN" NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA WERE NOT INTERVENING ON BEHALF OF THEIR CO-RELIGIONISTS IN LEBANON. IF AID IS NOT FORTHCOMING FOR CHRISTIANS WHO ARE FIGHTING MOSLEMS, DOES THIS NOT SHOW THAT THE WEST WILL CARE EVEN LESS FOR JEWISH NATION CONFRONTING THE SAME ENEMY? AS ONE OFFICIAL REMARKED BITTERLY TO THE DCM: "THE ARABS HAVE NEVER FORGOTTEN THEIR OLD CRY--'FIRST WE WILL ELIMINATE SATURDAY, THEN SUNDAY.'"

5. WE HAVE ALREADY NOTED ISRAELI UNHAPPINESS AND DISCOMFURE OVER THE RECEPTION ACCORDED SADAT IN THE U.S., SEEN HERE AS THE SIGN OF A NEW ORIENTATION IN U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY (TA 7073). ISRAELIS CERTAINLY ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT THEY RECEIVE FROM THE U.S. AND APPRECIATE OUR FIRM STAND AGAINST THE ANTI-ZIONIST RESOLUTION. BUT THEIR INCREASED DEPENDENCY ON THE U.S. SINCE THE OCTOBER WAR POINTEDLY UNDERSCORES ISRAEL'S PRESENT INTERNATIONAL WOES AND IS ITSELF A SOURCE OF CONCERN. WHILE ISRAEL'S RELATIONSHIP

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WITH THE U.S. IS THE CORNERSTONE OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY, THIS FACTOR BY ITSELF IS NOT SEEN HERE AS A SUFFICIENT ANSWER TO THE PERCEIVED THREATS OF ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM. ALREADY THE QUESTION IS BEING RAISED AS TO WHAT "CONCRETE" STEPS THE U.S. WILL TAKE TO "PUNISH" THOSE NATIONS WHICH VOTED FOR THE ANTI-ZIONISM RESOLUTION.

6. AT THIS STAGE, THE IMPLICATIONS FOR ISRAELI FOREIGN POLICY ARE NOT FULLY CLEAR. NEITHER SADAT'S STATEMENTS NOR THE VOTING BEHAVIOR OF THE AFRO-ASIAN AND COMMUNIST BLOCS HAVE COME AS MUCH OF A SURPRISE FOR ISRAEIS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT DOES NOT REGARD SADAT'S ANTI-ZIONIST STATEMENTS AS A MATERIAL BREACH OF SINAI II, DESPITE THE TIRADES OF THE RIGHTWING PRESS AND OPPOSITION LIKUD PARLIAMENTARIANS. INDEED, THE INTERNAL DIVISION BETWEEN MODERATES AND HARDLINERS REMAINS BASICALLY UNCHANGED. THE SENSE OF BELEAGUERMENT, OF INTERNATIONAL APATHY, AND OF HOSTILITY, HOWEVER, HAS DEEPENED. AT THIS POINT THERE IS NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT ANY OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE DETERRED THE GOVERNMENT FROM ITS COURSE, ALTHOUGH THEY DOUBTLESS WILL ADD TO THE DIFFICULTIES OF EXPLAINING AND JUSTIFYING TO THE ISRAELI PUBLIC ANY ADDITIONAL STEPS WHICH IT MAY BE CONTEMPLATING. THE VIEW FROM ISRAEL AFTER THE "ACT OF INFAMY" AT THE UNGA REMAINS THAT THE BASIC ISSUES OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE ARE AS INTRACTABLE AS EVER, THAT ONE MORE PROOF HAS BEEN PROVIDED THAT ARAB ATTITUDES HAVE NOT BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY ALTERED BY THE OCTOBER WAR, AND THAT ISRAEL MUST CONTINUE TO STEEL ITSELF, HOWEVER RELUCTANTLY, FOR A SOMETIMES VIOLENT STRUGGLE OF UNCERTAIN DURATION.

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Message Attributes

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